

**POLITICAL REPRESSION IN THE CONTEXT OF COMPLETE
COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE IN KAZAKHSTAN AS A WAY TO
STRENGTHEN THE STALINIST REGIME**
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Abstract: *in the article, the author, relying on rich factual material, reveals the repressive nature of the violence carried out by the Soviet government during the period of complete collectivization of agriculture in Kazakhstan. Describing the tragic consequences of the collectivization policy for the Kazakh people, the author proves that the political terror and repression organized by the Soviet government during the years of collectivization served as one of the main ways to strengthen the totalitarian power of the Communist Party. In the conclusion of the work, the author claims that in Kazakhstan during these years, the Stalinist modernization of the village was carried out, which had a totalitarian essence and was based on the implementation of the policy of the Bolshevik ethnocide.*

Keywords: *political regime, totalitarianism, political repression, total collectivization, tragic consequences, genocide, ethnocide.*

**ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЕ РЕПРЕССИИ В КОНТЕКСТЕ СПЛОШНОЙ
КОЛЛЕКТИВИЗАЦИИ СЕЛЬСКОГО ХОЗЯЙСТВА В КАЗАХСТАНЕ КАК
СПОСОБ УКРЕПЛЕНИЯ СТАЛИНСКОГО РЕЖИМА**
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Аннотация: *в статье автор, опираясь на богатый фактический материал, раскрывает репрессивный характер проводимого советской властью насилия в период сплошной коллективизации сельского хозяйства в Казахстане. Описывая трагические последствия политики коллективизации для казахского народа, автор доказывает, что политический террор и репрессии, организованные советским правительством в годы коллективизации, служили одним из основных способов укрепления тоталитарной власти коммунистической партии. В заключении работы автор утверждает, что в Казахстане в эти годы осуществлялась сталинская модернизация села, имевшая тоталитарную сущность и основанная на реализации политики большевистского этноцида.*

Ключевые слова: *политический режим, тоталитаризм, политические репрессии, сплошная коллективизация, трагические последствия, геноцид, этноцид.*

Today in in Kazakh historical science there is a free creative search in the context of raising scientific problems to a new qualitative level, which is determined by new methods. There is also growing interest in the common historical heritage, in the study of the causes and consequences of the tragic events of our people. At the same time, it should be noted that political and historical sciences acquire special significance during a period of radical change in socio-political models, when the issues of rethinking historical, political and cultural processes are on the agenda in the context of new historical and political thinking.

Speaking about the importance of historical time in the state's development, the First President of the state N.Nazarbayev said: "We need common historical consciousness for the nations. Our recognition of history should be a whole, positive, and unifying society. In order to raise the national spirit to the desired height, we need to be clear about our true history, our culture and our religion"[1, 8]. Taking this into account, the President also instructed to develop a special historical research program entitled "People in the Wave of History." The main purpose of this program is to create conditions for the qualitative change of historical science of Kazakhstan on the basis of advanced methodologies.

As part of the implementation of the tasks set by the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the scientific community, on June 6, 2013 at the L.N. Gumilyov, an expanded meeting of the interdepartmental working group on the study of the national history of Kazakhstan took place. Then the State Secretary of the

Republic of Kazakhstan Marat Tazhin, who took part in this meeting, made a speech in which he said: "The history of Kazakhstan is our common history. We must understand that the history of Kazakhstan in the 20th century is often the history of national and totalitarian conflicts" [2]. At the same time, it should be remembered that in the history of the totalitarian past of our country, the years of political repression are the most tragic.

In this regard, it should be noted that Kazakhstani science has reached a new level of study and clear understanding of various stages in the development of the country's history. Scientific research related to rethinking the genesis of the totalitarian system and its consequences is of particular importance for Kazakhstan. At the same time, it should be noted that well-known Kazakhstani scientists have great merits in the study of these issues. Among them are M. Kozybaev, K. Nurpeisov, M. Koigeldiev, Zh. Abylkhozhin, K. Aldazhumanov, N. Amrekulov and others. The importance of their scientific work is highly appreciated by our compatriots.

Within the framework of the problem considered in this article, the works of Kazakhstani scientists on the study and assessment of political events in the conditions of totalitarianism are considered particularly relevant and significant. In particular, the analysis of the negative aspects of the construction of socialism, the issues of industrialization, collectivization, the famine of 1931-1933, the study of the scale and mechanisms of political repression. However, despite a serious review of these problems, the issues of political repression during the period of mass collectivization still need a comprehensive, systematic and consistent study. This is especially important when today the current President of Kazakhstan, K. Zh. Tokayev, in order to comprehensively study and address the issues of rehabilitation of victims of political repression, issued a resolution "On the State Commission for the Full Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repression" on November 24, 2020 [3].

Of course, domestic researchers from the second half of the 90s of the last century began to publish new documentary data that our historiography on the problem of repression had not previously encountered. These include the works of the famous historian T. Omarbekov. In his work, he wrote: "There are still few studies written on the basis of scientific independent methodology, serving the interests of sovereign Kazakhstan, revealing the painful socio-psychological place of deprivation of property of Kazakh peasants in the fate of the Kazakh people. Therefore, the task is to write new, fundamental works, which, on the basis of the data, will prove the catastrophic demographic consequences of the mass extinction of Kazakhs in the years of famine" [4, 43].

It is noteworthy that this situation has not lost its significance even today, since the introduction of new historical, political and archival materials into the scientific community, as well as the proper assessment of these phenomena by the scientific community, is still an urgent task. Because in the life of any state there are events that should not be forgotten.

Historical experience shows that one of the tragic episodes in the history of the Soviet people, including in Kazakhstan, was the policy of mass collectivization, which aggravated the political crises of the 30s of the last century and became the main tool for strengthening the totalitarian regime. It can be argued that during the years of the rule of the command and administrative system, especially in the Stalinist era, the Kazakhs were among those peoples who suffered not only physically, but also almost lost their national identity, culture and language. In percentage terms, the number of Kazakhs affected by the persecution and famine of the 1930s was much higher than that of other peoples of the former Soviet Union. As the First President of Kazakhstan rightly noted in one of his works: "Mass collectivization and the destruction of the rich led to a national catastrophe" [5, 245].

During the period of Soviet ideology, there was no possibility of realistic study of issues related to pressure on people, since many archival materials were closed to researchers. As a result, the history of collectivization and political repression of the 30s-33s of the twentieth century in Kazakhstan and the scale of the consequences of famine in our country were long hushed up. Only after gaining Independence, Kazakh scientists were able to truly assess and critically analyze the political history of the past, calculate the total losses, and most importantly, human casualties. The study of the consequences of mass collectivization on the territory of Kazakhstan, the search for victims of political repression and their rehabilitation still requires close scientific attention from researchers.

Modern science has proved that the realities of that time were the most dramatic in the history of Kazakhstan. The period of such dramatic events can be attributed to the 20-50 years of the last century. For example, it is known that in the course of violent modernization in these years, the traditions and customs of the Kazakh people were violated, and large-scale collectivization and repressive policies led to the mass destruction of the Kazakh people. As evidence, we cite the following facts: "From the 1920s to the 1950s, 103 thousand people were convicted in Kazakhstan as a result of political repressions for political reasons. More than 25,000 people were dismissed by verdicts of the OGPU - NKVD and other non-judicial and judicial bodies" [6].

In Kazakhstan, in the early 1930s, there was a second famine after the establishment of Soviet power. The first famine occurred in 1921, when the First World War and the Civil War ended. At the beginning of this difficult period, the Kazakh people suffered a painful fate, which was not objectively covered in the Soviet era.

It was only in 1992 that the Supreme Soviet of the Republic established a special commission to investigate the horrors of 1931-1933. Then, according to the results of the work, the commission stated that such punitive measures of the Bolsheviks as the "Ukrainian famine", the Stalinist deportation of peoples, the "cultural"

revolution, the landfill, crimes against humanity, the destruction of the people of Kazakhstan, who suffered from the tragedy of collectivization, will never be forgotten" [7].

The political repressions of the 30s of the twentieth century can be considered as the consequences of cruelty to human life and the consequences of a totalitarian regime. The Soviet government then decided to pursue this policy in Kazakhstan on the assumption that "underdeveloped peoples can overthrow capitalism and move to socialism." This idea was a revolutionary utopia and a false theory. However, in those years in Kazakhstan, the Bolsheviks tried to implement these orthodox postulates, putting an end to the traditional system of the Kazakh ethnic group in their daily lives. As a result, this led to an unprecedented disaster.

The beginning of the process of implementing such a policy is inextricably linked with the events of the late 20s-early 30s of the last century. At this time, the totalitarian system dealt the first blow to the traditional structure of the Kazakh ethnic group. Using mass collectivization, the Bolsheviks attempted to exterminate the Kazakh people as a result of an artificially created famine and deliberate genocide. This, in turn, led to a violent change in the established traditions of Kazakh life, numerous human losses and was considered a tragedy for the Kazakh people, full of fear and horror on a scale far exceeding the Dzungarian invasion. According to demographic data, the Kazakh people lost about 2 million people to famine and related epidemics only during the years of collectivization. According to a number of sources, after such a demographic catastrophe, the Kazakhs were able to restore the population of 1926 only after 40 years, i.e. only in 1969 [8].

The scale of the tragedy is so terrible that it can be assessed as a manifestation of the policy of genocide on the part of the central government. It was a giant training ground where the country conducted an unprecedented social experience.

As follows from the above-mentioned document of the commission of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of 1992, the origins of the tragedy that occurred in the republic in the 30s have not yet fully reached our public consciousness. According to our previous research, the first steps towards the forced collectivization of the peasantry are associated with the events of the late 1920s. As we have shown in this paper, in November, 1927, At the 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, the question of expropriation of the rich was discussed and it was decided that "it is possible to allow the seizure of part of the cattle and tools of the big rich, which should lead to the averaging of the village, the development of its productive forces and the strengthening of the union of the proletariat with the working masses in the village". In December of the same year, a draft law on the confiscation of the big rich was prepared, which was approved by the Central Committee of the CPSU(b) and the All-Union CEC. Following its results, on August 27 of the same year, at a meeting of the Republican Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of Kazakhstan, a "Resolution on the confiscation of the farms of the rich" was adopted [9,43]. This resolution, as a result of its implementation, resulted in a national tragedy.

The repressive nature of collectivization was clearly manifested in the implementation of measures to eradicate the Bai-Kulaks as a class. Historical facts show that even before the decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b) of January 5, 1930 "On the types of collectivization and measures of assistance to the state in collective farm construction", the Stalinist government widely used methods of confiscation of farms.

Commissariats for confiscation were established everywhere on the territory of the Republic. According to the data of those years on the results of this campaign, in a short time 700 bays were confiscated in the republic, 619 of them were deported to other regions and about 145 thousand animals were seized from them. Among the Kazakhs, this was called the "great confiscation". In addition, during these years, the state has strengthened tax discipline in order to find finance for the implementation of the policy of industrialization in the country. In addition, grain prices decreased in the domestic market. The peasants refused to sell the grain. This was assessed as "an attack of petty-bourgeois spontaneity on the proletarian state and the working class" [9,54].

In the multi-volume edition of domestic scientists "Collectivization of agriculture in Kazakhstan (June 1926-1941)" it is noted that the beginning of the process of mass collectivization was a campaign to confiscate the farms of the big rich. During these years, the tax legislation was strengthened as much as possible. In January 1930, a new resolution of the SNK and the CEC of the USSR "On measures to combat predatory slaughter of livestock" was adopted, which was directed against persons found guilty of extortion for the purpose of slaughtering livestock and causing harm to the collectivization of agriculture. The decree provides for punishment in the form of imprisonment for up to two years with eviction from the place of residence [10, 66]. Thus, the totalitarian order continued to use the inhumane method of repression.

On January 15, 1930, by the decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Central Committee (b), a special commission was formed, headed by Molotov (including Goloshchekin). The Commission has developed a number of specific confiscation measures. The action was scheduled for February-May 1930. The campaign was conducted extremely quickly. On February 2, the OGPU appealed to its structural divisions with a request to begin the immediate withdrawal of "counter-revolutionary agents "from the"first-class activists". According to this order, 3113 people were detained in Kazakhstan. Then the process of mass relocation began. And by the beginning of May, 1930. 1,341 families or 7,535 people were resettled in the republic [11, 154].

The Soviet authorities, ignoring the traditions and customs of life of the Kazakhs, from the very beginning used methods aimed at eradicating the indigenous national traditions of the people. In their opinion, the age-old way of life of the Kazakhs "contradicts social progress and remains at the lowest stage of development." At the same time, economic problems were solved by political methods. For example, in the 1929-1930-ies in some parts of Kazakhstan there was a very poor harvest. Nevertheless, in those years, a campaign for harvesting agricultural products and a tax levy began. The grain delivery plan for 1928-1929 was approved at 1.15 million rubles. tons, which was incompatible with the actual cost. The heavy plan of grain procurement and payment of taxes affected the well-being of the auls and villages of Kazakhstan. This was a strong blow to the personal economy of the Kazakhs, which was reflected in the transition to the settlement of nomads-pastoralists and semi-nomads. The conductor of this policy in Kazakhstan was I. Goloshchekin, who headed the party organization of the republic from 1925 to 1933. In other words, it was the transfer of Kazakh peasants and cattle breeders to agriculture or permanent cattle breeding. This was a new blow to the regions occupied by cattle.

In addition, in 1928, there was a shortage of bread in the country. The main reason for the crisis was the withdrawal of existing financial instruments from agriculture and their transfer to production. The prices of bread on the domestic market decreased, and farms began to refuse to sell bread. This was interpreted as a petty-bourgeois outburst against the proletarian state and the working class, and it was decided to respond to such a "strike of the kulaks" with extreme measures. Thus, the struggle with the kulaks began under the slogan "the destruction of the Bais as a class".

This policy then became a widespread punitive action against farms. To prove this, we can draw attention to the data found in the state archives in accordance with the scientific research carried out in the course of our research.

For example, on August 7, 1932, the law "On the protection of the property of state Enterprises, Collective farms and Cooperatives and the strengthening of public (Socialist) property" was adopted. This document provided for a penalty of execution, 10 years in prison with confiscation of property in "mitigating conditions". Already in the first year of this unconstitutional provision, 33 thousand people were convicted in Kazakhstan. The policy of so-called confiscation of bai-kulaks was carried out along with other articles of the law of a criminal nature. At the same time, there was no judicial investigation. Everything was decided by the "troika". During the five years of the existence of the troika of the OPSU (1929-1933), according to incomplete data, 9085 cases were considered in Kazakhstan, decisions were made against 22933 persons. Of these, 3,386 people were sentenced to death by firing squad, and 13,151 people were imprisoned in camps for a term of 3 to 10 years.

In the following year, most of Kazakhstan again had no harvest. But, despite this, in November 1929, the Central Committee of the party decided to strengthen the pace of collectivization and transfer the nomadic economy to a settled one. Since 1931, Kazakhstan's agriculture has been tasked with collecting 1.6 million tons of grain annually. It was in such conditions that the campaign of mass collectivization began in the republic. By February 1930, 6722 collective farms and 441931 farms had already been established in Kazakhstan [9, 45-46].

The campaign for the transition to sedentariness eventually became used to implement the policy of industrialization. It wasn't random. The fact is that through a sedentary policy, the Soviet state intended to solve the grain problem and thereby collect reserves for industrial progress. Agriculture, which had not had time to recover from the continuous violent actions of the government, was subjected to violent collectivization in a short time. As a result, if in 1928 2% of all peasants in the republic were collectivized, then in the autumn of 1931 – 65%. And in the Ural and Peter and Paul districts there are even more. Then the total number of centralized districts in 78 of the 122 districts in the republic reached from 70 to 100 percent [9, 51].

At the beginning of 1930, two articles by Stalin were published: "The Dizziness of success" and "The answer to the comrades-collective farmers". These works have long been considered in historical chronicles as documents on the normalization of the collectivization movement. But, although the "voice of the leader" was heard in the country, including in Kazakhstan, everything remained the same. Administrative and bureaucratic terror continued in the same volumes. The resolutions of the Regional Committee of Kazakhstan headed by Goloshchekin, adopted in May-August 1931, set the task of collectivization of disadvantaged slaughterhouse areas. And as a result of measures of collectivization of animal husbandry, soon 87% of collective farms of the republic and 51.8% of private peasants lost their cattle [12, 3], since there was no place to graze cattle and the peasants did not have fodder prepared for the winter.

So, the cattle, collected somewhere by force, could not get out of the winter and died. In addition, the peasants began to slaughter their livestock. As a result, in 1928, 6 million 509 thousand heads of cattle remained in the republic, in 1932 - 965 thousand heads. Out of 18 million 556 thousand sheep, only 1 million 386 thousand survived. It also turned out that the number of horses from 3.5 million was reduced to 3 million. The traditional for our region camel cattle in 1928 amounted to 1 million 42 thousand heads, and by 1935 only 63 thousand [13, 365]. Camel farming has completely fallen into disrepair. Thus, the Kazakh people, who were mainly engaged in animal husbandry, were exposed to a destructive famine. This famine, which began in the country, soon spread to the city.

The horrors of famine in Kazakhstan in 1931-1932 cannot be forgotten up to now. The leadership of the republic believed that the main reason was the negative intentions of its enemies and the malicious actions of the rich. And, to be honest, it is a mistake to say that the emergency and administrative measures in the local area are fraught with the production of farms. The crops and cattle have dropped dramatically. Thus, in 1932, the total crop yield was reduced to 15.1 million compared with 1928, and the livestock decreased from 40.5 million to 5.3 million [13, 366]. Villages, towns, villages were starving. This tragedy has led to a massive demographic catastrophe which has never been seen before.

There are different data on the number of deaths from starvation in the country. Some say that 1.3 million people died, while others believe that 1.5 million people died. In the article "Strengthening unity and preserving memories", published in the newspaper "Egemen Kazakhstan" on January 16, 1998, Nursultan Nazarbayev said that "only in 1932-1933, 1 million. 750 thousand people or 42% of all Kazakhstanis [14].

As we can see, the tragedy of the past years against the peasants of the republic was colossal. During these years, famine and mass displacement led to the arrests and persecution of Kazakhstanis. Academician M. Kozybayev, examining archival data, confirms this fact with the following data : " In 1928-1930, 34,120 people were arrested in three regions of Kazakhstan (Akmola, Petropavlovsk and Semey), 32,357 people were brought to administrative responsibility. In 1932, 33,345 people were brought to criminal responsibility in the country, including 7,728 collective farmers and 5,315 individual farmers" [15,15].

However, these "achievements" were achieved on the basis of exaggeration. Most of the collective farms created in the spring of 1930 did not have housing, buildings and agricultural items necessary for the economy, as well as arable land. There was also a shortage of pet food, and most of the people who settled on the collective farm had no livestock or personal property. All this led to discontent and discord among the peasants, and in some places to resistance movements. Taking as a basis the historical data given in our early studies, it should be noted that " in 1929-1931, 372 uprisings took place in Kazakhstan, in which about 80 thousand people participated, covering many parts of the country " [9, 50].

The peasant movements led to new repressions. The suppression and persecution of the rebels was accompanied by the migration of our people outside the republic, including abroad. Fleeing from hunger and repression, more than 1 million people migrated outside of Kazakhstan, 616 thousand of them irrevocably. The tragedy of collectivization scattered Kazakhs in a number of countries around the world, for example, in China there are now 1,070 thousand of them, in Mongolia – 137 thousand, in Turkey – 120 thousand. There are also Kazakh diasporas in Afghanistan, Iran, Western Europe and North America. In total, about 4.5 million Kazakhs currently live outside of Kazakhstan, including in 14 states of the former USSR and 25 countries of the far abroad [16].

The question arises: "Did the supreme authorities and party bodies know about these disasters and why did they not take appropriate measures?" In support of this, we can cite the well-known letters to I. Stalin from T. Ryskulov (September 29, 1932 and March 9, 1933), where he described the current situation in detail. In addition, in the summer of 1932, the Kazakh regional committee received an open letter from five famous people (G. Musrepov, M. Gataulin, Dauletaliyev, Kanyshov). But, despite this, the local authorities did not respond to them, and later even accused the Kazakh intelligentsia of nationalism. And the government continued to believe in its infallibility. So, in an article published in December 1933 in the newspaper "Pravda", Stalin wrote: "The life of our people has improved, their number is growing, now our population is increasing by three million annually." Of course, that wasn't true. Because then the population was decreasing, not increasing.

According to historical data, during these years, half of our compatriots died from direct starvation and infectious diseases. In particular, in the Arka region, where they were engaged exclusively in cattle breeding, the Kazakhs suffered heavy losses. The data and figures strongly support this conclusion. In this line, you can pay attention to the following information: "In 1937, the leaders of the Karkaraly district were convicted. Among the accused was Mansur Gataullin. He was one of the "five", one of the leaders of the regional committee, who in 1932 wrote a letter to the regional committee about the excesses in collectivization that led to the famine" [9, p. 52].

In addition, you can also pay attention to the following information. According to the karkaraly Regional Settlement Committee, 40-50 people die every day in the center of Karkaraly district in these years. Similar indicators were observed in other regions of Kazakhstan. This situation is clearly reflected in the results of the census conducted in 1939 in comparison with the population indicators of the regions of Kazakhstan in 1926. To prove it, you can pay attention to the 1 table below [17, p. 55].

Table 1. The results of the census Karagandy region

Regions	Population	
	1926	1939
Voroshilov	23994	17637
Zhana-Arka	30572	15616
Karkaraly	46260	10849
Karsakpay	24442	30434

Konyrat	23490	9898
Ku	31693	5684
Korgalzhyn	22783	14105
Nura	30948	18747
Telman	29064	57283
Ulytau	13059	11645
Shet	30811	12583
Areas not in region	5248	6282
General Karagandy region	312365	183263

From this it can be seen that the population of Karaganda region decreased almost twice in the period from 1926 to 1939. And in the whole of Kazakhstan, these indicators were even higher. Thus, in the 30s, these were the results of the artificial catastrophe of the collectivization policy, which caused the Kazakh people to starve.

Based on the above data, when analyzing the scale of the process of collectivization and repression that took place in Kazakhstan in the 20-30s of the last century, we can see that large-scale violence has developed in the country. Of course, we are not mistaken if we say that the real basis of this process was the totalitarian regime formed in the Soviet era. In addition, we have already noted that the scale of the tragedy of the people is so terrible that such a policy of the authorities can be called genocide. Because such a policy contributed to the implementation of mass repression against the people of Kazakhstan, as it openly raped and destroyed cultural traditions and ethnosocial institutions in Kazakhstan.

The history of political repression and mass collectivization in our country will forever remain in the memory as a terrible tragedy. During this terrible tragedy, millions of people were victims of the idea of creating a communist paradise. Therefore, within the framework of the President's instructions for the truthful study of national history and the implementation of the state program for the complete rehabilitation of victims of political repression, today Kazakhstan scientists are assigned great tasks. Among them is the task of scientifically significant interpretation of the dramatic aspects of political repression during the years of mass collectivization in Kazakhstan. In this direction, it is necessary to continue studying the origin, causes and nature of the great tragedy of the Kazakh people in the early 1930s on a new theoretical and methodological platform, using the method of regular research. We are not mistaken if we say that the Soviet government had all the comprehensive basis for the implementation of the Bolshevik repressive machine and the totalitarian nature of the Stalinist modernization processes in Kazakhstan, which were the result of the strengthening of the totalitarian regime. This, in turn, confirms all the main classical characteristics of totalitarianism as a power system.

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